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father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two further categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[8] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods, weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[8] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65-68.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

• [572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

[572] [608]

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

• 572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [784] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narembor we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[764] yet know. Later on when one's narembor dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

March 4, 1937.

115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kewes came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

524 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by aynas kaps (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)